

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-05 SP-02 MMO-01 SIG-01  
IO-13 EB-08 A-01 PM-05 CA-01 INR-10 PER-01  
DODE-00 PA-01 AID-05 USIA-06 OES-07 CIAE-00 L-03  
NSAE-00 HA-05 COME-00 TRSE-00 OMB-01 SNM-05 CU-04  
MCE-00 /115 W  
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P R 230010Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9271  
INFO AMEMBASSY MANAGUA  
AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE  
AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR  
AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA  
USCINCSO

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 GUATEMALA 1105

E.O. 11652:GDS  
TAGS: AMGT, PEPR, XM, GT  
SUBJ: AMBASSADOR'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN GUATEMALA: SUMMARY OF  
IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

REF: STATE 038286; STATE 034007 77 STATE 295620; GUATEMALA 7789

### I. BELIZE

A. CURRENT SITUATION: OUR BEHIND THE SCENES EFFORTS, PARALLELING  
THOSE IN WASHINGTON AND THIRD-COUNTRY CAPITALS, HAVE CONTRIBUTED  
TO CONTINUATION OF UK-GUATEMALAN TALKS. THE GOG HAS CONTRIBUTED  
TO CONTINUATION OF UK-GUATEMALAN TALKS. THE GOG HAS RESPONDED  
WELL TO USG URGINGS THAT IT SHOW FLEXIBILITY; BELIZE GOVERNMENT  
IS NOW THAT GREATER STUMBLING BLOCK. MEDIA AND ASST SECRETARY  
TODMAN'S VISIT FOSTERED GENERAL PUBLIC IMPRESSION THAT THE USG  
HAS PLAYED A HELPFUL ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

B. FUTURE STEPS: WITHOUT GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF APPLYING  
PRESSURE, OR INSERTING OURSELVES IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS,

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(1) CONVEY IN MISSION CONTACTS WITH OFFICIALS, CONGRESSMEN AND  
MEDIA THE DESIRABILITY OF CONTINUED GOG FLEXIBILITY;  
(2) IN THE JUDGMENT THAT THE OUTGOING LAUGERUD ADMINISTRATION  
OFFERS THE BEST OPPORTUNITY FOR ARRIVING AT A SETTLEMENT,  
AND THAT THERE WILL BE A TENDENCY TO LET A DIFFICULT  
ISSUE SLIP, REFLECT IN OUR OFFICIAL CONTACTS THE NEED FOR  
SPEED, AND (3) IF TALKS BREAK DOWN, EXPRESS IN OUR OFFICIAL

CONTACTS HOPE THAT GOG ACTIONS AND WORDS NOT CONTRIBUTE TO RENEWAL OF TENSIONS.

## II. HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES

A. CURRENT SITUATION: IN ADDITION TO OUR NORMAL CONTACTS WITH POLITICAL AND OTHER LEADERS AND THE MEDIA, HIGH-LEVEL U.S. VISITORS WERE ABLE TO STRESS IN OFFICIAL CALLS TO PRESIDENT AND DEFMIN, AMONG OTHERS, IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO CORRECT ELECTIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS. PRESS INTERVIEWS REINFORCED THIS PUBLICITY. AMBASSADOR'S DINNER FOR TODMAN SYMBOLICALLY REAFFIRMED OUR IMPARTIALITY AND DESIRE FOR CONTACT WITH ALL LEGITIMATE POLITICAL GROUPS. SEPARATE DEMARCHES REMINDED GOG THAT BOTH MILITARY ASSISTANCE (INCLUDING SALES) AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE MUST NOW RECEIVE HUMAN RIGHT SCREENING. GOG HAS YET TO REACT TO 1978 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT. PREVIOUS REPORT PROMPTED GOG TO ANNOUNCE RENUNCIATION OF ANY MILITARY AID PREDICATED ON ANOTHER COUNTRY'S EVALUATION OF ITS HUMAN RIGHTS PERFORMANCE. THE PREDICATED DETERIORATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN CONNECTION WITH FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS HAS NOT MATERIALIZED. AID PROGRAMS REQUIRING GOG COUNTERPART FINANCING AND IMPLEMENTATION ARE DESIGNED TO RESPOND TO BASIC HUMAN NEEDS OF RURAL POOR. IN GENERAL, THROUGH PERSONAL CONTACT, USIS MEDIA PLACEMENT AND INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY, LEVEL OF HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY AWARENESS AMONG OPINION LEADERS IS HIGH IF NOT OFTEN

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SYMPATHETIC OR COMPREHENDING.

B. FUTURE STEPS: (1) WIDESPREAD SUPPOSITION TO THE CONTRARY, THERE IS NO RELIABLE EVIDENCE THAT PRESIDENT DOES NOT INTEND TO PERMIT THE HONEST ELECTION OF HIS SUCCESSOR. SHOULD THE PROGNOSIS CHANGE BETWEEN NOW AND ELECTION DAY, MARCH 5, THE AMBASSADOR SHOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE A FURTHER DEMARCHE. (2) CONTINUE STRESSING HUMAN RIGHTS AND IMPARTIALITY WITH REGARD TO LOCAL POLITICAL CURRENTS IN MISSION CONTACTS WITH POLITICAL, MILITARY AND OTHER OPINION LEADERS. (3) GIVE AID PROGRAM PRIORITY TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE POOREST AREAS, WITH FOCUS ON RURAL HEALTH, POPULATION AND CONTINUANCE OF PRIMARY EDUCATION PROGRAMS. STRESS WITH NE GOVERNMENT NEED FOR ADDRESSING RURAL INCOME DISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS. (4) CONTINUE USIS MEDIA PLACEMENTS.

## III. 700945 \*94 U.S. POSITION IN WORLD FORA

A. CURRENT SITUATION: GENERALLY POSITIVE. DESPITE CONTRARY PREDICTIONS, GUATEMALA'S 1977 UNGA VOTING RECORD WAS THE ONE IN LATIN AMERICA CLOSEST TO OURS. GOG SUPPORTED CREATION OF A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND HAS BEEN CAUTIOUS GP77 FOLLOWER ON NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. EMBASSY

MADE THE USUAL CONSULATATIONS ON UN ISSUES IMPORTANT TO US. AFTER EMBASSY REPRESENTATIONS, EXECUTIVE SUBMITTED SAN JOSE CONVENTION TO CONGRESS FOR RATIFICATION. PRESIDENT LAUGERUD ATTENDED THE CANAL TREATY SIGNING AND ISSUED A STRONGER PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT THAN PURELY LOCAL ATTITUDES WOULD HAVE DICTATED. IN THE OAS, HOWEVER, GUATEMALA OPPOSED US-LED EFFORTS TO REJECT URUGUAY'S OFFER TO HOST THE NEXT OASGE.

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B. FUTURE STEPS: WE ENVISAGE CONTINUATION OF NORMAL REPRESENTATIONS AND, IF NECESSARY, FURTHER DIPLOMATIC PRODDING TO HASTEN RATIFICATION OF SAN JOSE CONVENTION.

#### IV. COMMERCIAL TIES AND SHIPPING DISTPUTE

A. CURRENT SITUATION: A VIGOROUS COMMERCIAL ACTION PROGRAM (CAP) HAS CONTRIBUTED TO THE ALREADY GOOD RECEPTION U.S. PRODUCTS ENJOY IN THIS EXPANDING ECONOMY. U.S. SALES INCREASED IN 1977 BY 13 PER CENT TO \$377 MILLION. ONE OF THE HIGHER PERCENTAGE GROWTHS IN LATIN AMERICA. INVESTMENT CLIMATE IS ALSO GOOD. A NON DISCRIMINATORY SHIPPING BILL HAS BEEN SIGNED INTO LAW. THE MISSION'S ROLE WAS TO ASSURE THE GOG UNDERSTOOD WHAT WAS REQUIRED TO AVOID COUNTERVAILING U.S. MEASURES.

B. URUE STEPS: (1) CONTINUE STRONG CAP. (2) INOFFICIAL CONTACTS ENCOURAGE SUITABLE TRADE OFFERS IN THE MTN AND LIEVERALIZATION OF IMPORT POLICIES. (3) MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION

OF NEW SHIPPING LEGISLATION. (4) IN OFFICIAL CONTACTS, ENCOURAGE FORWARD PROGRESS IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN INTEGRATION PROCESS.

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V. PROMOTION OF SECURITY INTERESTS

A. CURRENT SITUATION: RESTRICTIVE ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES SINCE 1975 HAVE CAUSED U.S. INFLUENCE TO WANE, BUT THE GUATEMALAN MILITARY'S ANTICOMMUNIST ORIENTATION HAS ASSURED A DEFENSE POSTURE PARALLEL TO OURS WITH RESPECT TO STRATEGIC CONCERNS IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN ISTHMUS. ITS ATTITUDE REMAINS COOPERATIVE. ALTHOUGH THE GOG FORMALLY REJECTED SECURITY ASSISTANCE PREDICATED ON HUMAN RIGHTS REPORTING, A LIMITED FMS SALES PROGRAM HAS IN FACT CONTINUED AND HELPED MAINTAIN ACCESS AND SOME LEVERAGE. MILITARY GROUP REDUCTION WENT UNCHALLENGED.

B. FUTURE STEPS: (1) GIVE NO ENCOURAGEMENT TO PURCHASE OF MAJOR MILITARY HARDWARE BUT INDICATE FULL READINESS TO CONSIDER REQUESTS FOR ESSENTIAL REPLACEMENTS AND NON-CONTROVERSIAL ITEMS, AS WELL AS TO MAINTAIN SUPPLY LINK FOR SPARE/REPAIR PARTS IN SUPPORT OF CURRENT INVENTORY. (2) IN CONTACTS, ENCOURAGE GUATEMALANS TO RESUBMIT REQUEST FOR IMET. (3) ENCOURAGE PERIODIC VISITS OF HIGH RANKING MILITARY IN BOTH DIRECTIONS. (4) EXPLAIN ANY DENIAL OF SALES IN TERMS OF BROAD USG POLICIES UNLESS CIRCUMSTANCES (E.G., PATTERN OF SERIOUS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, BELIZE BRINKMANSHIP) DICTATE OTHERWISE.

VI. NARCOTICS AND ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION INTERDICTION

(A) CURRENT SITUATION: (1) GUATEMALA IS A SIGNIFICANT COCAINE TRANSHIPMENT POINT. THE LOW PRIORITY ASSIGNED BY THE GOG TO CONTROL OF INTERNATIONAL DRUG MOVEMENTS HAS HAMPERED OUR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE GREATER COOPERATION. (2) GUATEMALAN OFFICIALS, AWARE OF OUR CONCERN, HAVE NOT COMPLAINED ABOUT U.S. DOMESTIC PROPOSALS TO STEM THE ENTRY OF ILLEGAL ALIENS.

B. FUTURE STEPS: (A) ENCOURAGE GOG PLAN TO ENHANCE STATUS OF NARCOTICS SECTION THE NATIONAL POLICE, INTER ALIA, BY DIVORCING IT FROM CORPS OF DETECTIVES. (2) BE PREPARED TO OFFER TRAINING AND LIMITED MATERIAL ASSISTANCE

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IF GOG SHOWS SERIOUSNESS OF PURPOSE. (3) RE ILLEGAL MIGRANT PROGRAM, MISSION DOUBTS THAT GOG HAS PRACTICAL MEANS TO REDUCE THE FLOW WITHOUT UNACCEPTABLE RESTRICTIONS ON FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT. WE CONTEMPLATE NO COURSE OF ACTION IN THIS AREA OTHER THAN CONTINUED EFFORT TO ENSURE UNDERSTANDING BY OFFICIALS AND OPINION LEADERS OF OUR PROBLEM IN ORDER TO MITIGATE PUBLIC RELATIONS IMPACT OF

WHATEVER U.S. DOMESTIC MEASURES ENSUE.

VVII. BILATERAL COMMUNICATION AND LINKAGES

A. CURRENT SITUATION: USIS MEDIA PLECEMENTSSCONTINUE AT HIGH LEVEL; EXCHANGE PROGRAMS ARE AT MAXIMUM FEASIBLE LEVEL.

B. FUTURE STEPS: USIS TO CONTINUE INFORMATION PROGRAM AIMED AT OPINION LEADERS AND MAJOR MEDIA, EXCHANGE PROGRAMS TO STRESS LINKAGES BETWEEN GUATEMALN AND U.S. UNIVERSITIES, AND VISITS BY GRANTEES ESPECIALLY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE, ECONOMICS AND FINE ARTS.

VIII. CONFLICTS AMONG GOALS

BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MILITARY IN THE GUATEMALAN SCHEME OF THINGS, US.S. POLICIES AND PRACTICES WHICH PREVENT US FROM BEING RESPONSIVE TO GUATEMALAN REQUESTS FOR ARMS PURCHASES WILL REDUCE OUR LEVERAGE IN THE BELIZE DISPUATE; MAY LESSEN OUR OPPORTUNITIES FOR A HEARING ON HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS; INCREASE THE CHANCES FOR GUATEMALAN DEFECTION ON WORLD FORA ISSUE; AND HARM ATMOSPHERE FOR REGIONAL DEFENSE COLLABORATION. TOO FORCEFUL PURSUIT OF HUMAN RIGHTS GOALS WILL CAUSE GOALS I AND III TO SUFFER. SHOULD WE GO BEYOND THE RECENT REPORT TO CONGRESS TO PUBLICIZE SPECIFICS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES COMING TO OUR ATTENTION, WE WOULD ENDANGER WHAT REMAINS OF OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE GOG. WE SHOULD RECONGNIZE, TOO, THAT AN IMPLIED THREAT TO REDUCE DEVELOPMENT ASSSTANCE ON HUAMN RIGHTS GROUNDS HAS MOSTLY SYMBOLIC IMPACT HERE IN THE ABSENCE OF CONCURRENT USG ACTION IN THE IFI'S ,AND TAKING INTO  
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ACCOUNT OUR LOW LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE COMPARED TO OTHER DONORS AND THE GOG'S PRESENT HEALTHY FINANCIAL SITUATION. MOREOVER, BY THEIR NATURE, U.S. AID PROGRAMS IN GUATEMALA SERVE U.S. DEVELOPMEN GOALS (SEE II) AS WELL AS THE GOG'S.  
ANDREWS

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